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SPEECH

EQUAL RIGHTS.

IN THE SENATE,

MONDAY, JANUARY 15, 1872.

Mr. President: In opening this great ques-tion, one of the vastest ever presented to the Senate, I have had but one hesitation, and that is, merely with regard to the order of treatment. parts of the country, from Massachusetts as well as Georgia, showing the absolute neces-sity of congressional legislation for the protec-tion of equal rights, which I think ought to be laid before the Senate. It was my first purpose to begin by presenting this testimony; but I have now changed my mind, and I shall devote to-day to a statement of the question, relying upon the indulgence of the Senate for another opportunity to present the important testimony. I ask that the pending amendment be read.

The Chief Clerk read the amendment.

The Chief Clerk read the amendment.

Mr. President, slavery in its original pretension, reappears in the present debate. Again the barbarous tycanny staks into this Chamber, denying to a whole race the equal rights promised by a just citizenship. Some here thought slavery dead. This is a misrake. If not in body, at least in spirit or as a ghost making our country hideous, the ancient criminal yet lingers among us, insisting upon the continued degradation of a race.

Preperty in man has ceased to exist. The human autorion block is departed. No human being can call himself master, with impious power to separate humband and wife, to sell the child from its parents, to shut out the oppor-

child from its parents, to shut out the oppor-tunities of religion, to close the gates of know-ledge and to rob a other of his labor and all its ledge and to rob a other of his lator and all the fruits. These guilty prerogatives are ended. To this extent the slave is free. No longer a chartel, he is a man justly entitled to all that is accorded by law to any other man.

Such is the irresistible logic of his position.

Such is the irresistible logic of his position. Ceasing to be a siave he became a man, whose foremost right is Equality of Rights. And yet slavery has been strong enough to postpone his entry into the great possession. Cruelly he was not permitted to testify in court; nor was he allowed to vate. More than four millions of people, whose only offense was a skin which had been the badge of slavery, were shut out from the court room and also from the hallot. had been the badge of slavery, were shut out from the court-room, and also from the ballot box, in open defiance of the great promises of our fethers that all men are equal in rights, and that just government stands only on the consent of the governed. Such was the impu-dent behest of slavery, prolonged after it was reported dead. At last these crying wrongs were overturned. The slave testifies; the slave rotes. To this right his conality is recognized. votes. To this extent his equality is recognized.

EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW.

But this is not enough. Much as it may seem compared with the past, when all was de nied, it is too little, because all is not yet recognized. The denial of any right is a wrong that darkens the enjoyment of all the rest. Besides the right to testify and the right to vote, there are other rights without which Equality does not exist. The precise rule is Equality before the Law; nor more nor less; that is, that condition before the Law in which all are alike—being entitled without any dis all are alike—being entitled without any dis crimination to the equal enjoyment of all incrimination to the equal enjoyment of all instructures privileges, advantages, and conveniences created or regulated by law, among
which are the right to testify and the right torote. But this plain requirement is not satisfied, logically or reasonably, by these two concessions, so that when they are recognized all
sthers are trifles. The court-house and ballot
box are not the only places for the rule. These
two are not the only institutions for its operation. The rule is general; how then restrict
it to two cases? It is, all are equal before the
law—not merely before the law in two cases,
but be ore the law in all cases without limits
tion or exception. Important as it is to testify
and to vote, life is not all contained even in
these possessions.

The n w made citizen is called to travel for business, for health, or for pleasure, but here his trials begin. The doors of the public hotel, which from the earliest days of our jurispru-dence have always opened hospitably to the stranger, close against him, and the public conveyances, which the common law declares for him. He longs, perhaps, for respite and relaxation at some place of public amusement, dura ticensed by law, and here also the same adverse discrimination is made. With the auxietres of a parent, seeking the welfare of his child, he strives to bestow upon him the inestimable blessings of education, and takes him by iaw, and supported by the taxation to which he has constitued, but these doors slam radely in the face of the child where is garnered up the parent's heart. "Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me;" such were the words of the divine Master. But among us little children are turned away and forbidden at the door of the common school, because of the skin. And the same insuling octracism shows itself in other institutions of science and learning, also in the courch and in the last resting place on earth.

Two instances occur, which have been men-tioned already on this floor; but their eminence in illustration of an unquestionable grievance justifies the repetition.

CASE OF PREDERICK DOUGLASS

One is the well known case of Frederick Douglass, who, returning home after carnest service of weeks as secretary of the commission to report on the people of St. Domingo and the expediency of incorporating them with the United States, was rudely excluded from the supportable, where his brother commissioners were already scated on board the mail steamer of the Polomac, just before reaching the President, whose commission he bore. This case, if not aggravated, is made conspicuous by peculiar circumstances. Mr. Dauglass is a gentleman of unquestioned ability and char-acter, remarkable as an orator, refined in man-ners and personally agreeable. He was re-turning, charged with the mission of bringing under our institutions a considerable popula-tion of colored foreigners, whose prospective treatment among us was foreshadowed on board that mail steamer. The Dominican Bacz could not expect more than our fellow citizen. And yet, with this mission, and with the personal recommendations he so justly enjoys, this returning secretary could not be saved from outrage even in sight of the Execu-tive Mansien.

CASE OF LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR DUNN

There also was Oscar James Dunn, mee Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana. It was my privilege to open the door of the Senate Cham-ber and introduce him upon the floor. Then in reply to my inquiry he recounted the hard ships to which he had been exposed in the There also was Oscar James Donn, late saps to which he had been exposed in the long journey from Louisiana, especially how he was denied the ordinary acc mmodations for comfort and repose supplied to those of another skin. This denial is memorable, not only from the rank but the character of the wintin. Of blemeles this. rictim. Of blameless life, he was an example victim. Of biameless life, he was an example of integrity. He was poor, but could not be bought or bribed. Duty with him was more than riches. A fortune was offered for his signature; but he spurned the temptation.

And yet this model character, high in the

support in this Chamber. He is dead at last and buried with official pomp. The people counted by tens of thousands thronged the stress while his obsequies proceeded. An od one discrimination was for the time suspended. In life rejected by the conductor of the suspended. In life rejected by the conductor of the result.

Two excusses show how irrational and see the cases for its application.

They are on a par with the pretension itself. One pended. In life rejected by the conductor of the rule with regard to them may be traced to the rule with regard to them may be traced to the rule with regard to them may be traced to the rule with regard to them may be traced to the rule with regard to them may be traced to the rule with regard to them may be traced to the rule with regard to them may be traced to the rule with regard to them may be traced to the rule with regard to them may be traced to the rule with regard to them may be traced to the rule with regard to them may be traced to the rule with regard to them may be traced to the rule with regard to the rule with regard

NEW NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, D. C., THURSDAY, JANUARY 25, 1872.

VOL. III,-NO. 3.1

Hon. CHAS. SUMNER

These are famous instances; but they are types. If Frederick Douglass and Osear James Dunn could be made to suffer, how much must others be called to endure. All alike, the feeble, the invalid, the educated, the refined,

thed to be self evident.

The publica is failure, a mere name and nothing more. Call it a Republic if you will, but it is neality a soulless mockery.

Equality in rights is not only the first of the axion, whether of science or philosophy, is universal and without exception or limitation; and this is according to the very law of its nature. Therefore, it is no axiom to amounce grandly that all white men are equal in rights, nor is it an axiom to amounce with that that that that it is the coefficient properties. These are the artificial substitutes for every the very the ve

GREAT ISBUE OF THE WAR.

All this has additional force when it is known that this very axiom and self evident truth declared by our fathers was the great issue of the war, and was so recognized by the leaders on both sides. Behind the embattled armies were ideas, and the idea on our side was Equality in Egipts, which on the other side was denied. The Nation insisted that all men are created equal; the Rebellion insisted that all men are created unequal. Here the evidence is explicit.

The inequality of men was an original postulate of Mr. Calboun, which found final expression in the open denunciation of the self-evident truth as a "self evident lie." Echoing this denunciation Jefferson Davis, on leaving the Senate, January 21, 1861, in that farewell speech which some among you heard, but which all may read in the Globe, made the issue in these words:

"It has been a belief that we are to be de-

in these words:

"It has been a belief that we are to be deprived in the Union of the rights which our laters bequeathed to us, which has brought Mississippi into her present decision. She has heard proclaimed the theory that all men are created free and equal, and this made the basis for attack upon her social institutions; and the sacred Declaration of Independence has been invoked to maintain the position of the equality of the races."—Congressional Globe, p. 487. Thirty sixth Congress, 2d sess.

The issue thus made by the chief rebel was

"Now, my friends, can this country be saved on this basis? If it can I shall consider myself on this basis? If it can I shall consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help save it. If it cannot be saved upon that principle, it will be truly awful. But if this principle, it will be truly awful. But if this country cannot be saved with ut giving up that principle I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on the spot.

Giving these words still further solemnity, he

"I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, to die by."

And theu, before raising the national banner

"It is on such an occasion as this that we can reason together, reaffirm our devotion to the country and the principles of the Declaration of Independence."

Thus the gauntlet flung down by Jefferson Davis was taken up by Abraham Lucoln, who never forgot the issue

never forgot the issue.

The rejoinder was made by Alexander H.
Stevens, Vice President of the Republic, in a
not-to be forgotten speech at Savannah, March
21, 1861, when he did not hesitate to declare 21, 1861, when he did not hesitate to declare of the pretended government that "its foundations are laid, its corner stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man." Then giorying in this terrible shame, he added, "This, our new Government, is the first in the history of the world based upon the great physical, philosophical and moral truth." "This

stone which was rejected by the first builders is become the chief stone of the corner." To this unblushing avowal Abraham Lincoln replied in that marvelous, undying utterance at Gettysburg, fit voice for the Republic, greater far than any victory, when he said: "Four score and seven years ago our fathers

brought forth upon this continent a new na-tion, conceived in Liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." Thus, in precise conformity with the Declaration, was it announced that our Republic is dedicated to the Equal Rights of all, and then, dedicated to the Equal Rights of all, and then, the prophet President, soon to be a martyr, asked his countrymen to dedicate themselves to the great task remaining, highly resolving, "that this nation under God shall have a new birth of Freedom, and that government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

The victory of the war is vain without the grander victory through which the Republic is dedicated to the axiomatic, self evident truth declared by our fathers, and asserted by Abra ham Lincoin.

All this is so plain that it is difficult to argue At this is so plain that it is difficult to argue it. What is the Republic if it fails in this loyalty? What is the national Government, coextensive with the Republic, if fellow citi zens counted by the million can be shut out from equal rights in travel, in recreation, in education, and in other things, all contributing to human necessities? Where is that great promise by which the "pursuit of happiness" is placed with life and liberty, under the safe guard of axiomatic self-evident truth? Where is justice if this ban of color is not promptly

WO. III.—NO. 5.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., THURSDAY, JANUARY \$5, 1872

See The property of the control tion and shame? Who with a spark of justice to illumine his soul can hesitate to denounce the wrong? Who that rejoices in republican institutions will not help to overthrow the tyranny by which they are degraded?

I do not use too strong language when I expose this tyranny as a degradation to republican institutions; aye, sir, in its fundamental axiom. Why is the Declaration of Independence our Magna Charas? Not because it declares separation from a distant kingly power; but because it announces the lofty truth that all are equal in rights, and as a natural conset quence that just government stands only on

where all have the same alike. There can be no substitute for equality; nothing but itself. Even if accommodations are the same, as notoriously they are not, there is no Equality. In the process of substitution the vitat clixir exhales and escapes. It is lost and cannot be recovered; for Equality is found only in Equality. "Nought but itself can be its parallel;" but Senators undertake to find parallels in other things.

parallels in other things.

Assuming what is most absurd to assume, and what is contradicted by all experience, that a substitute can be an equivalent, it is so in form only, and not in reality. Every such attempt is an indignity to the colored race, instituct with the spirit of Slavery, and this decides its character. It is Slavery in its last appearance. Are you ready to prolong the hateful tyranny? Religion and reason condemn Caste as impious and unchristian, making republican institutions and equal laws impossible; but here is Caste not unlike that which heard proclaimed the theory that all men are created free and equal, and this made the basis for attack upon her averal institutions; and the sacred Declaration of Independence has been inoviked to maintain the position of the equality of the races."—Congressional Globe, p. 487.

Thirty sixth Congress, 2d sess.

The issue thus made by the chief rebel was promptly joined. Abraham Lincoln, the elected President, stopping at Independence Hall, February 22, on his way to the national capital, in unpremediated words, thus interpreted the Declaration:

"It was that which gave promise that in the surface of the dusky livery of the surface appointed by the heavenly Father, whom you treat as others have treated the Jews, as the Brahmin treats this is the great Equality promised by our fathers. separates the Sudra from the Braumin. Pray,

try, especially referring to the exclusion of colored children from the common schools as among "the humiliating and brutal dist tions" by which their Caste is character 2. (Charles Comte, Traite de Legislation, To tions' by which their case is calcacter.

(Charles Comte, Traite de Legislation, To'

IV., pp. 129, 445.) The principle of sep

tion on the ground of hereduary inferiors' As
the distinctive essence of Caste; but this' he
outrage which lifts itself in our country, 'ing
out, "I am better than thou, because I am shite.

Get away!"

Thus do I reject the two excuses. But I do not leave the cause here. I go further and she w how consistent is the pending measure with acknowledged principles illustrated by un-

doubted law.

The bill for Equal Rights is simply supple mentary to the existing Civil Rights Law, which is one of our great statutes of peace, and it stands on the same requirements of the Constitution. If the Civil Rights Law is above question, as cannot be doubted, then also is the supplementary amendment, for it is only the complement of the other, and necessary to its completion. Without the amendment the original law is imperfect. It cannot be said, according to its title, that all persons are pro-tected in their civil rights, so long as the out rages I expose continue to exist; nor is Slavery

No doubt the supplementary law must oper ate, not only in national jurisdiction, but also in the States, precisely as the Civil Rights Law. Otherwise it will be of little value. Its sphere must be coextensive with the Republic making the rights of the citizen uniform every-where. But this can be only by one uniform where. But this can be only by safeguard sustained by the nation.

An enlightened public opinion must be invoked. But this will not be wanting. The country will rally in aid of the law, more especially since it is a measure of justice and humanity. But the law is needed now as a numanty. But the law is needed now as a help to public opinion. It is needed by the very people whose present conduct makes it necessary. Prompted by the law, leaving on the law, they will recognize the equal rights of all; nor do I despair of hailing a public opinion, which shall stamp the denial of these rights as an outrage not unlike slavery itself. Custom and patronage will then be sought in obeying the law. People generally are little better than actors, for whom it was once said

"Ah! let not censure term our fate our choice.
The stage but echoes back the public voice;
The drama's laws, the drama's patrons give;
For we that live to please must please to live." In the absence of the law people please too often by inhumanity, but with the law teaching the lesson of duty, they will please by opposite conduct. Thus will the law be an instrument improvement, necessary in proportion to existing prejudice. Because people still please by inhumanity, therefore must there be a countersection force. This processes evigency was force. acting force. This precise exigency was fore

seen by Rousseau. remarkable as writer and thinker, in a work which startled the world, when he said: when he said:

"It is precisely because the force of things tends always to destroy equality that the force of legislation should always tend to maintain it."—Contrat Social, Liv. II, chap. 11.

And the Encyclopædia adds:

"As some compensation for this compulsor, hospitality the innkeeper is allowed certain privileges."

Thus is the innkeeper under constraint o law, which he must obey; "bound to take in all travelers and waylaring persons;" "nor can he impose unreasonable terms upon them," and liable to an action and even to an indict ment for refusal. Such is the law.

With this peremptory rule opening the doors of inns to all travelers, without distinction, to the extent of authorizing not only an action.

the extent of authorizing not only an action but an indictment for the refusal to receive a traveler, it is plain that the pending bill is only declaratory of existing law, giving to it the sanction of Congress.

PUBLIC CONVEYANCES.

Public conveyances, whether on land or water, are known to the law as common car riers, and they, too, have obligations not unlike those of inns. Common carriers are grouped with innkeepers, especially in duty to passen gers. Here again Mr. Justice Story is our authority.:

February 22, on his way to the national capital, in unpremeditated words, thus interpreted the Declaration:

"It was that which gave promise that in our time the weight should be infred from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have dense of all men, and that all should have dense of all men, and that all should have the dense of all men, and that all should have a capual chance."

Mark, if you plesse, the simplicity of this utterance. All are to have "an equal chance," and this he said "is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence." Then, in reply to Jefferson Davis, he praceeded:

"The first most general obligation on their part is to carry passengers with all reasonable disgence whenever they offer themselves and fathers.

In arraigning this attempt at separation as a Caste, I say nothing new. For years I have denounced it as such, and here I followed good authorities, as well as reason. Alexander Von Humboldt, speaking of the negroes in Mexico and this he said "is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence." Then, in reply to Jefferson Davis, he praceeded:

"The first most general obligation on their part is to carry passengers with all reasonable disgence whenever they offer themselves and ready to pay for their setting themselves and common carriers of goods, for a common public employment, on hire. They are no more at liberty to refuse a passenger, if the said "is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence." Then, in reply to Jefferson Davis, he praceeded:

"The first most general obligation on their part is to carry passengers with all reasonable disgence whenever they offer themselves and relations. This results from their setting the said sent part is to carry passengers with all reasonable disgence whenever they offer themselves up this extent part is to carry passengers with all reasonable disgence whenever they offer themselves and relations. This results from their setting the said is the said man carriers of goods, for a common public employm "The first most general obligation on their

"It is his duty to receive all passengers who offer; to carry them the whole route; to demand no more than the usual and established compensation; to t est all passengers alike; to behave to all with civility and propriety; to provide suitable carriages and means of transportation." * * * * "And for the default of his servants or agents in any of the above particulars, or generally in any other points of duty, the carrier is directly responsible as well as for any circumstances of aggravation which attended the wrong."—Parsons

The pending bill simply re enforces this rule, which without Congress ought to be sufficient. But since it is set at naught by an odious discrimination Congress must interfere.

THEATERS AND PLACES OF PUBLIC ANUSEMENT Theaters and other places of public amuse ment, licensed by law, are kindred to inns or public conveyances, though less noticed by jurisprudence. But, like their prototypes, they undertake to provide for the public under sanction of law. They are public institutions, regulated if not created by law, enjoying privileges, and in consideration thereof, assuming ileges, and in consideration thereof. duties not unlike those of the inn and the pul cannot close its doors, or the public convey ance reluse a seat to any paying fraveler, dec in condition, so must it be with the ther and other places of public amusement. H and other places of public amusement. Here are institutions whose peculiar object is the "pursuit of happiness," which has been placed among the equal rights of all. How utterly irrational the pretension to ourage a large portion of the community. The law can lend itself to no such intolerable absurdity, and this, I insist, shall be declared by Congress.

COMMON SCHOOLS.

The common school falls naturally into the same category. Like the others, it must be epen to all or its designation is a misnomer and a mockery. It is not a school for whites or a school for blacks, but a school for all; in other school for blacks, but a school for all; in other words a common school. Much is implied in this term, according to which the school harmonizes with the other institutions already inentioned. It is an inn where children rest on the road to knowledge. It is a public conveyance where children are passengers. It is a theater where children resort for enduring recreation. Like the others, it assumes to provide for the left in the content of the content of

on grounds equally applicable to the inn, the put I c conveyance, and the theater.

But the common school has a higher character. Its object is the education of the young, and it is sustained by taxation to which all contribute. Not only does it hold itself out to the public by its name and its harmony with the other institutions; but it assumes the place of parent to all children within its locality, bound always to a parent's watchful care and tenderness, which can know no distinction of child.

to see any to see that the separate school founded on an odious discrimination and sometimes offered as an equivalent for the common school, is an ill-disguised violation of the principle of Equality, while as a pretended equivalent it is an utter failure and instead of a parent is only a churlish step-mother.

A slight illustration will show how it fails,

churches and in the last resting-places of the dead. So far as any of these are public in England.

Among the ornaments of English law none that any institution of learning or science, any church or any cemetery should set up a discrimination se utterly inconsistent with correct principle. But I do not forget that only recently a colored officer of the national Army was treated with indignity at the communiontable. To insult the dead is easier, although condemned by Christian precept and heathen example.

Among the Romans degradation ended with Among the Romans degradation ended with life. Slaves were admitted to honorable sepulture, and sometimes slept the last sleep with their masters. The slaves of Augustus and Livia were buried on the famous Appian Way. where their tombs with numerous inscriptions have survived the centuries. "Bury him with his niggers," was the rude order of the rebel where their tombs with numerous inscriptions have survived the centuries. "Bury him with his niggers," was the rude order of the rebei officer, as he flung the precious remains of our admirable Colonel Shaw into the common our admirable Colonel Shaw into the common trench at Fort Wagner, where he fell mounting the parapets at the head of colored troops And so he was buried, lovely in death as in life. The intended insult became an honor. In that commends the commends are the colors and in the Constitution said, "We the limit that comments are considered to the color. This judgment is a torch to illumine the Constitution, while it bounds are countried to the color. This judgment is a torch to illumine the Constitution, while it bounds are countried to the color. This judgment is a torch to illumine the Constitution, while it bounds are countried to color. This judgment is a torch to illumine the Constitution, while it bounds are countried to color. This judgment is a torch to illumine the Constitution, while it bounds are countried to color. This judgment is a torch to illumine the Constitution, while it bounds are countried to color. This judgment is a torch to illumine the Constitution, while it bounds are countried to color. This judgment is a torch to illumine the Constitution, while it bounds are countried to color. This judgment is a torch to illumine the Constitution and torch to illumine the color. This judgment is a torch to illumine the constitution and torch torch to illumine the constitution and torch torch to illumine the constitution and torch to illumine the constitution and torch torch to illumine the constitution and torch torch to illumine the constitution and torch to illumine the constitution and torch torch to illumine the color and torch to illumine the constitution and torch torch to ill In that common trench the young hero rests, symbolizing the great Equality for which he died. No Roman monument with its Siste viator to the passing traveler, no "labor of an age in piled stones," can match in grandeur that simple burial.

tious lord, asking Hotspur for prisoners, can bear nothing so unbandsome "betwixt the wind and his nobility." This is the whole case.

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the best possible, and the colored child will have the benefit of this watchfulness. This decisive consideration completes the irresistible argument for the common school as the equal parent of all without distinction of color.

If to him that hath is given, according to the way of the world, it is not doubted that to him that hat not there is a positive duty in proportion to the necessity. Unhappily our color of fellow-citizens are in this condition. But just is proportion as they are weak and not yet recovered from the degradation in which is they have been plunged, does the Republic owe is completest support and protection. Already a component part of our political corporation they must become part of the educational corporation also, with Equality as the supreme law.

OTHER PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

It is with humiliation that I feel bound to insist upon the same equality in other public insist upon the same equality in other public institutions of learning and science, also in character of their illustrious author, to whom belongs the kindred honor of first declar institutions of learning and science, also in character and organized by law, they must defined the common account of his skin.

There is also the original common law, anterdiation, which show to distinction of color. One of the great-and interpreting the Constitution, which show not distinct on of color. One of the great-and interpreting the Constitution, which show wo distinction of color. One of the great-and interpreting the Constitution, which show not alway in the second the lictor; and this cry, with its lesson of immunity, has dating and interpreting the Constitution, which show not distinction of color. One of the great-and in the second the lictor; and this cry, with its lesson of intentity, has dating and interpreting the Constitution, which show not alway and interpreting the Constitution, which show not alway and interpreting the Constitution, which show not are in this country with the same in the second the lictor; and the country with

tions," and then again, in striking words, that men;" in other words, it makes no discrimina tion on account of color. This judgment is a men." and in the Constitution said, "We the people," and not "We the white people."

In melancholy contrast with the monumental

people," and not "We the white people."

In melancholy contrast with the monumental judgment of the English Chief Justice, are judicial decisions in our own country, especially that master-piece of elaberate inhumanity, the judgment of our late Chief Justice in the Dred Scott case. But it is in the States that the word "white" has been most considered. Such learned debate on the rights the ded there is but one argument, which, when considered, is nothing but a prejudice, as little there is but one argument, which, when considered, is nothing but a prejudice, as little rational as what Shylock first calls his "humor" and then "a lodged hate and a certain loathing," making him seek the pound of flesh from out the merchant's heart. It is the prejudice of color which pursues its victim in the long pilgrimage from the crafle to the grave, elosing the school, barring the hotel, excluding from the public conveyance, insulting at the theater, shutting the gates of science and playing its fantastic tricks even in the church when the kneels and the grave where his dust mingles with the surrounding earth. The Godgiven color of the African is a constant offense to the disdianful white, who, like the pretentious lord, asking Hotspur for prisoners, can bear nothing so unhandsome "betwixt the surjoin and the grave where his dust wind and he grave where his dust as mingles with the surrounding earth. The Godgiven color of the African is a constant offense to the disdianful white, who, like the pretentious lord, asking Hotspur for prisoners, can bear nothing so unhandsome "betwixt the surjoin and the grave where his dust with the surrounding earth. The Godgiven color of the African is a constant offense to the disdianful white, who, like the pretentious lord, asking Hotspur for prisoners, can bear nothing so unhandsome "betwixt the word "white" has been most consistent on the rights of man dependent on complexion, would excit a smile, if it did not awaken indignation. There is Ohio, a much honored State, rejoicing as the regional debate on the rights of man dependent on complexion, would excit a smile, if it did not awaken indignation. There is Ohio, a much honored State, rejoicing the was withen a constant duty, which I could never forget, to fellow-citizens, white always watching for man dependent on complexion, would excit a smile, if it did not awaken indignation. There is Ohio, a much honored State, rejo colored children by the community where they reside, are not, as of right, entitled to admission into the common schools set apart for the bear nothing so unhandsome "betwixt the wind and his nobility." This is the whole case. And shall those equal rights, promised by the great Peclaration, be sacrificed to a prejudice? Shall that equality before the law, which is the best part of citizenship, be denied to those who do not happen to be white? Is this a white man's Government, or is it a Government or "all men." as declared by our fathers? Is it a Republic of equal laws, or an oligarchy of the shir? This is the question now presented.

Once Slavery was justified by color, as now the denial of Equal Rights is justified, and the reason is as little respectable in one case as in the other. The old pretension is curiously illustrated by an incident in the inimitable autolography of Franklin. An ante-revolutionary Governor of Pennsylvania remarked gaily that he much admired the idea of Sancho Panza, who, when it was proposed to give him is goovernment, requested that it might be of "blacks," as then, if he could not agree with his people, he might sell them, on which a friend said, "Franklin, why do you continue to side with the damned Quakers? Had you not better sell them?" Franklin answered, "The Governor has not yet blacked them fenough." The autobiography proceeds to say

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must all be taught together. They are not only to receive equal quantities of knowledge, but all are to receive it in the same way. But they cannot be taught together; nor can they receive equal quantities of knowledge in the same way, except at the common school is important to all; but to the colored child it is a necessity. Excluded from the common school, he finds himself too frequently without any substitute. Often there is no school. But even where a separate school will not flourish as the common school, it is but an offshoot or sucker without the strength of the parent stem. That the two must differ is seen at once, and that the two must difference is adverse to the colored child will is equally apparent. For him there is no as surance of education except in the delivery of the land, "and the judges in every State shall the two must difference is adverse to the colored child will be the common school. It is but an offshoot or sucker without the strength of the parent stem. That the two must difference is adverse to the colored child will be seven the common school, it is but an offshoot or sucker without the strength of the parent stem. That the two must difference is adverse to the colored child will be seven the common school will not flourish as the common school. It is but an offshoot or sucker without the strength of the parent stem. That the two must difference is adverse to the colored child will be sequely apparent. For him there is no as surance of education except in the same as ourselves. Our rights are his rights; to refer to dwell on the original text of the Common is a chool, where he will be under the safeguard of all. White parents will take care not only the thind the common school is not neglected, but that its teachers and means of instruction are the beat possible, and the colored child will have the benefit of this watchfulness. This decisive consideration completes the irresistible and interpretation, which is no doubted that to him that hath is given, according to the containing t

outrage?

EQUAL RIGHTS AND AMNESTY.

Mr. President, asking you to unite now in an act of justice to a much-oppressed race, being only a small installment of that heavy an act of justice to a much-oppressed race, being only a small installment of that heavy debt accumulated by generations of wrong, I am encouraged by the pending measure of amnesty, which has the advantage of being recommended in the President's annual message. I regretted at the time, that the President signalized by his favor the removal of disabilities imposed upon a few thousand rebels who had struck at the Republic, while he said nothing of cruel disabilities inflicted upon millions of colored fellow-citizens, who had been a main-stay to the national cause. But I took courage when I thought that the generosity proposed could not fuil to quicken that sentiment of justice which I now invoke.

Toward those who assailed the Republic in war I have never entertained any sentiment of generosial hostility. Nover have I sought the punishment of any one; and I rejoice to know that our bloody rebellion closed without the sacrifice of a single human life by the civil power. But this has not surprised me. Early in the war I predicted it in this Chamber. And yet, while willing to be gentle with former enemies, while anxious not to fail in any lenity or generosity, and while always watching for the

mies, while anxious not to fail in any lenity or generosity, and while always watching for the moment when all could be restored to our com-mon household with equality as the prevailing

there are strong reasons were united with annesty, especially since the latter is pressed. Each is the removal of disabilities, and each is to operate largely in the same region of country. Nobedy sincerely favoring generosity to recell should hesitate in justice. to the colored race. According to the maxim in chancery, Whoso would have equity must do equity. Therefore, rebets seeking amnesty must be just to colored fellow citizens

seeking equal rights. Doing this equity they may expect equity. Another reason is controlling. Each is a measure of reconciliation, intended to close the issues of the war; but these issues are not closed unless each is adopted. Their adoption together is better for each, and, therefore, better for the country than any separate adoption. Kindred in object, they should be joined together and never put asunder. It is wrong to separate them. Hereafter the rebels should remember that their restoration was associated with the Equal Rights of all, being contained

in the same great statute.

Clearly between the two the pre-eminence must be accorded to that for the Equal Rights of all, as among the virtues, justice is above generosity. And this is the more evident when

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